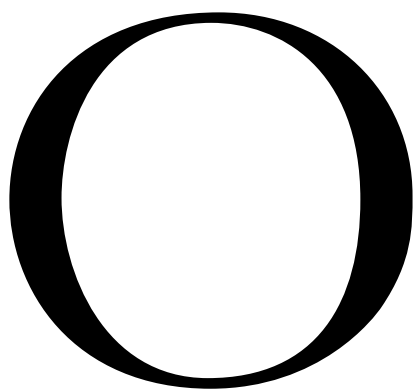


A NEW PORTRAIT OF MOZART?



Only a very few images of Mozart are universally agreed to be authentic.¹ Yet the acceptance of these portraits – as well as more recently discovered portraits purporting to be Mozart² – is less the result of provenance or connoisseurship than the fact that they are shrines at which Mozart scholars and

Mozart lovers uncritically worship. They are representations of how we would like Mozart to look – in short they satisfy our visual biographical fancy. This is true, above all, of the unfinished portrait by Joseph Lange (Fig. 8). The musicologist H.C. Robbins Landon described it as ‘the most intimate, most profound, of all the mature Mozart portraits – the only one, really, to catch the ambivalent nature of Mozart’s mercurial mind and to show the profoundly pessimistic side of his many-sided genius’, whereas the 19th-century French Mozartean Théodore de Wyzewa remarked on its ‘fresh and delicate juvenile beauty’ – despite the fact that it is not even certain when it was painted.³ It seems hardly likely, however, that the traditional Mozart portraits are the only authentic ones. Mozart had many admirers and patrons, many of whom may have commissioned or requested portraits. What follows is an account of one such portrait and other artefacts that were probably owned by his family.

On 4 November 1763 Mozart’s father, Leopold, wrote to his Salzburg landlord and financier Johann Lorenz Hagenauer from Brussels, where Wolfgang (then aged seven) and his sister, Nannerl, were performing as part of a European tour. Leopold briefly described what he called his ‘Peruvian treasures and riches’: ‘Little Wolfgang has been given two magnificent swords, one from Count von Frankenberg, Archbishop of Malines, the other from General Count de Ferraris. My little girl has received Dutch lace from the archbishop, and from other courtiers cloaks, coats and so on. With snuffboxes and etuis and such junk we shall soon be able to rig out a stall.’⁴ This is the first, brief description of the horde of valuable objects that the family collected on its travels. By the time that the Mozarts returned to Salzburg, in 1766, they had with them, or had sent ahead, several large coffers full of gifts, memorabilia and items that they had purchased while on tour. They included gold pocket watches, rings and snuff boxes, earrings, necklaces, knives with golden blades and tooth picks, among other items.⁵

Almost all of these items were shipped, in the first instance, to

Descendants of the Hagenauer family of Salzburg, friends of Mozart’s father, recently sold a group of items associated with the composer. Among them is a painting that may be an unknown portrait of Mozart.

Cliff Eisen assesses the evidence.

Hagenauer, who in addition to partly financing the Mozart family’s journeys was also probably Leopold’s best friend. Given the close relationship between the Mozart and Hagenauer families, it is only to be expected, perhaps, that some items once owned by the Mozarts, or items that passed through their hands, might have ended up with the Hagenauers.⁶ It seems to be the case, for instance, that some of the valuable gifts that Leopold received on the tour were used to repay his debts to Hagenauer. And it is just as likely that Leopold, out of friendship, made the Hagenauers gifts. No doubt, as close friends, the families were keen to have mementoes of each other as well, such as keepsakes and portraits.

However, not all the Mozartiana once owned by the Hagenauers necessarily came directly from Leopold during his lifetime. It is documented, for instance, that Hagenauer’s wife, Maria Theresia, purchased several items at Leopold’s estate auction, which was held in Salzburg on 25 September 1787. These included a gold circlet ring, a woman’s gilded watch chain, a brass watch key as well as three watch keys made of English steel, and a study lamp; her most costly purchase was a cutlery wall cabinet, for which she paid the enormous sum of 58 florins 14 kreutzer (chiefly because of the value of the silverware) – of all the completed sales in the auction, this lot was by far the most expensive.⁷ The Hagenauers were collectors in any case, and since the 17th century at least, the family prized its heritage and possessions, maintained a private archive of important family documents and preserved their material possessions, which included art and fine clothing, topographical engravings, silverware, furniture and, it seems, family mementoes or mementoes of family friends.⁸

Unless otherwise stated, the works illustrated in this article are in a private collection in the USA and were photographed by Benjamin Blackwell, Berkeley Art Museum. 1 *Portrait of a Man*, here identified as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and attributed to Joseph Hickel (1736–1807), c. 1783–85. Oil on canvas, 48.2 x 35.5 cm





1 The three universally accepted portraits, by Joseph Lange, Doris Stock and Leonard Posch, are reproduced in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern*, Kassel, 1961, pp. 17, 19 and 21.

2 For the three portraits most recently proposed as depictions of Mozart, by Joseph Grassi, Johann Georg Edlinger and an anonymous Italian artist, see Ludwig Finscher (chair), 'Round Table. Porträt eines Mannes von Joseph Grassi: Mozart?', *Mozart-Jahrbuch*, 1991, pp. 1068-95; Rainer Michaelis, *Das Mozartporträt in der Berliner Gemäldegalerie*, Berlin, 2006; Richard Bauer, 'Der "Berliner Mozart". Notwendiger Widerspruch gegen eine Weltsensation', *Acta Mozartiana*, vol. LII, nos. 1-4 (2005), pp. 5-22; and Rudolph Angermüller, 'L'anello, dono del principe Fürstenberg' in Marina Botteri Ottaviani et al., *Mozart. Note di viaggio in chiave di violon*, Riva del Garda, 2006, pp. 103-05.

3 H.C. Robbins Landon, 'Two New Mozart Portraits', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. V, no. 2 (1971-72), pp. 256-60. For Wyzewa's opinion, see Edward Speyer, 'Notes on the iconography of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart', *Musical Quarterly*, vol. V, no. 2 (April 1919), pp. 175-91, at p. 181.

4 Wilhelm Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, Kassel, 1962-75, vol. I, pp. 108-09.

5 Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart. A Documentary Biography*, London, 1966, pp. 67-68. Other items acquired by the Mozarts on tour included topographical engravings and music. See Rudolph Angermüller and Gabriele Ramsauer, "'du wirst, wenn uns Gott gesund zurückkommen lässt, schöne Sachen sehen". Veduten aus dem Nachlass Leopold Mozarts in der Graphiksammlung des Salzburger Museums Carolino Augusteum', *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, vol. XLII, nos. 1-2 (1994), pp. 1-48; and Cliff Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library' in *Mozart Studies*, vol. II, ed. Cliff Eisen, Oxford, 1997, pp. 85-138.

6 On the Mozarts and the Hagenauers, see the preliminary version of this report: *Acta Mozartiana*, vol. LV, nos. 1-2 (2008), pp. 55-73, especially pp. 56-60.

7 The catalogue of Leopold Mozart's estate auction is published in Rudolph Angermüller, 'Leopold Mozarts Verlassenschaft', *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, vol. XLII, nos. 3-4 (1993), pp. 1-32. For Maria Theresia Hagenauer's purchases, see lots 134, 148 150, 171 and 304.

8 The earliest document in the archive, which consists partly of originals and partly of transcriptions of originals, appears to be a marriage certificate for Georg Hagenauer from 1614. Johann Lorenz Hagenauer's estate inventory (Landesarchiv, Salzburg, Stadtysyndikat Nr. 346) does not specifically identify paintings and portraits that were part of the family holdings. This appears to have been the case generally for late-18th-century estate

However, the whereabouts of many of these items became obscure, at least to some members of the family: with the split, effectively accomplished in 1831, of the Hagenauers into two branches, one in Italy as well as one in Austria, direct contact with some of the family's possessions was eventually lost to the Austrian branch. Never-theless, a rich oral history was passed from generation to generation. Without any direct knowledge of the survival of numerous family treasures, including the collection's apparent Mozartiana, the Austrian Hagenauers provided in 2007 a partial list of items known to have been owned by the family and presumed by them to have been transported to Italy:

(1) Sign of J.L. Hagenauer that was in the family home and announced the business. It is from the 1760s; (2) spice table from family business; (3) three portraits of J.L. that are identical and were made by same painter and showed the spice table; (4) letters of business. Letters of agreement between Mozart the elder and J.L. (this concerns the tours and the division of money and the letters showed amendments [changes] after it was realized that payment came many time in the form of snuff boxes and watches); (5) confirmation of ownership owning sign from 1761; (6) portraits of J.L. children by Rosa Barducci Hagenauer (J.L. helped J.P. Hagenauer and Rosa), keys to the church and homes of Hagenauer; (7) portrait of Mozart in side profile made from smaller portrait sent by young Mozart to his family when Mozart was 27 and has red coat (this painting was painted as a return gift from a painter of royals in Vienna as a gesture of appreciation to Mozart for writing some music for his family relations. It is side profile because it is said Mozart wanted it that way); (8) young boy Mozart made larger from a miniature; (9) *violinschuler* book dedicated to J.L. by Mozart elder (this book was in very good condition until one unknown child in the family scribbled on it in red ink); (10) snuff boxes gifts from aristocratic admirers of Mozart during travels. Over 12 fine painted snuff boxes from France and England (these boxes were not gifts. They were payment from Leopold as business parter. There were also

several nice watches but they disappeared); (11) Letters from J.L. to Ignaz Hagenauer from Salzburg to Trieste in 1780s, father to son; (12) sword from Mozart Elder to J.L. Hagenauer with freemason emblem; (13) many books from library of J.L. Hagenauer with some very old emblem of family crest...Property mark of old Hagenauer...was initials in circle jhl; (14) Old relics of saints from J.L. Hagenauer and from Mozart elder. Both collected these...⁹

In 2004 an American collector became acquainted with the Italian branch of the family (the Locatelli-Hagenauers) and purchased from them a number of items. Not all of the material described by the Austrian Hagenauers was accounted for: the sale did not include the family sign or spice table, the portraits of J.L. Hagenauer's children, the letters written to Trieste, the copy of Leopold Mozart's *Gründliche Violinschule*, or the letters of agreement between Leopold and Hagenauer. But it did include at least one or two items they described, together with others representative of the items they itemised, as well as objects that certainly derive from the 18th-century Hagenauers.¹⁰

These include item 12 listed above, a ceremonial masonic sword (Fig. 5). During his visit to Vienna to see Wolfgang in early 1785, Leopold applied for, and became a member of, Mozart's masonic lodge, 'Beneficence'. He was proposed on 28 March, admitted on 6 April, and promoted to the 'second grade', and then 'third grade' at the lodge 'True Concord', on 16 and 22 April, respectively.¹¹

The items purchased include also two snuff boxes that may relate to item 10 listed above. One is circular, of tortoise shell, with a painted exterior and gilding, the other is hinged with a tortoise-shell interior (Fig. 4). Both are French and date from around 1760-70, making them contemporary with the Mozarts' visits to Paris in 1763-64 and 1766. The painting on the circular snuff box is probably after J.B. Oudry and that on the hinged snuff box probably after François Boucher.¹²

A reliquary and two apparent relics may relate to item 14 in the list above. A label ('S. Felicis mart.') on the bone in the reliquary identifies it as belonging to the 9th-century Paduan saint St Felicity (Fig. 6). The



FAMILY TREASURES

Like the portrait of the man in a red jacket, these objects were inherited by the Italian branch of the Hagenauer family, descendants of Leopold Mozart's close friend J.L. Hagenauer. All may once have belonged to the Mozarts. **2** A Dutch pewter snuff box, containing Dutch coins of c. 1750-60 **3** A belt, possibly a relic of St Catherine of Bologna **4** A French snuff box, c. 1760-70 **5** The hilt of a masonic sword, possibly Austrian, c. 1780s **6** Detail of a wood reliquary with bones said to be of St Felicity **7** A pack of French playing cards, 1760s

back of another relic includes the inscription 'Ex Ossibus. S. Antonii Pat.', that is, St Anthony of Padua; Mozart and his father visited Padua on about 10 February and 12 to 14 March 1771. A second relic, a belt or strap (Fig. 3), may be the relic described by Leopold Mozart in a letter written at Rome on 14 April 1770: 'We saw St Rosa of Viterbo, whose body like that of St Catherine at Bologna can be seen to be incorruptible. From the first saint we brought away a fever powder and relics, and from the second we took a belt as a remembrance.'¹³ The Mozarts were in Bologna from 24 to 29 March 1770.

Additionally, the collection includes several objects that are not among those described by the Hagenauers but, like the items described above, date from places and times that correspond with the Mozarts' travels around Europe. Among them is a copy of Georges-Louis Le Rouge's *Le parfait aide de camp* (Paris, 1760). Given its author, date and French publication, this book may have been acquired by Leopold during the Mozarts' stays in France in 1763-64 and 1766. Le Rouge was engineer and geographer to the Conte de Clermont, Louis Henri Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, whom the Mozarts had met in Paris. He invited the family to Dijon, as Leopold described in a letter of 16 August 1766: 'From Paris we went to Dijon in Burgundy, where we stayed 14 days. This was thanks to the Prince of Condé, who engaged us to go there for assembly of the Burgundian Estates, which only happens every three years.'¹⁴ The Mozarts' concert at Dijon on 18 July was given 'by permission of the Prince de Condé'.¹⁵ Leopold apparently shared with the Prince a passion for military matters, and frequently mentions them in his letters.

Other items include nine issues of *Maendelyks Musikaels Tydverdriyt: Bestaende in Nieuwe Hollandsche Canzonetten of Zang-Liedern* by Antoine Mahaut, for the months October 1751 to June 1752. Although the actual date of publication is uncertain – not all 18th-century periodical publications appeared on time – the date is close enough to the Mozarts' visit to Holland in late 1765 and early 1766 to suggest that they purchased or were given a copy there.

Although the exact date of a pack of playing cards (Fig. 7) is unknown, it is still in its original wrapper, which indicates that it was manufactured – and

inventories; see, for example, Mozart's estate inventory (Deutsch, op. cit. [note 5 above], pp. 583-604). For a description of some of the Hagenauer possessions, based on Johann Lorenz's 1792 estate inventory see Gunda Barth, 'Die Hagenauers. Ein Salzburger Bürgergeschlecht aus Aining: Die Einbindung einer Handelsfamilie in "Wirtschaft, Politik und Kultur Salzburgs im späten 17. und 18. Jahrhundert"', in *Heimatbuch Aining*, Aining, 1990, p. 319.

⁹ The following list is based on emails in English from the Hagenauers, 12 March and 22 June 2007, with amended orthography. The Hagenauers were first contacted in November and December 2006 and I interviewed them in June 2007.

¹⁰ The collection includes a bible (in Martin Luther's translation, published at Altdorf in 1753) with J.L. Hagenauer's ownership mark and a number of 18th-century family portraits, among them an oil painting of J.L. Hagenauer, long thought to be lost, that served as the model for the image on his headstone at St Peter, Salzburg. The Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg accepts that the collection originated with the Hagenauers.

¹¹ See Deutsch, op. cit. [note 5 above], pp. 241-244.

¹² Auction valuation by Bonhams & Butterfields, San Francisco.

¹³ Bauer and Deutsch, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 334.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 228.

¹⁵ For a transcription of the original concert poster, see Deutsch, op. cit. [note 5 above], pp. 56-57.

¹⁶ Wolfgang wrote to his sister from Milan on 30 November 1771: 'I saw four rascals hanged here in the cathedral square. They hang [people] here just like they do in Lyon' (Bauer and Deutsch, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 452).

¹⁷ Concerning the Mozarts' card-playing, see Günther Bauer, *Mozart. A Great Lover of Games*, Bad Honnef, 2006, pp. 117-68.

¹⁸ Email of 16 April 2007. The discrepancy in descriptions of how the portrait made its way to Salzburg is discussed below.

¹⁹ The painting was examined in early 2008 by experts at both Christie's and Sotheby's, who pronounced it consistent with a dating of mid-1780s Vienna. The initial impression of the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg, is that it dates to the mid-1780s and that the sitter resembles Mozart (personal communication from Ulrich Leisinger, 19 May 2006).

²⁰ Bauer and Deutsch, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 232-33.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 233-34.

²² Indeed, it is not clear from Mozart's letters whether he actually acquired the coat: he writes only of 'your Grace's goodness in promising me one like it'. The three portraits are reproduced in Deutsch, op. cit. [note 2 above], pp. 11, 15 and 23. For a compelling argument that the 1780-81 family portrait is by an unknown artist, not della Croce, see Dieter George,

presumably sold – in Lyon, where the Mozarts stayed from about 26 July to 20 August 1766, and where Mozart witnessed a hanging.¹⁶ In 18th-century Salzburg, the importation of 'foreign' playing cards was prohibited by law. Accordingly, a deck of French playing cards is likely to have made its way there only if it were brought to Salzburg by someone who had visited France.¹⁷ Finally, a mid-18th-century Dutch pewter snuff box (Fig. 2) contains three Dutch coins dated 1758-60. The Mozarts were in Holland in late 1765 and early 1766.

Given the Hagenauers' European-wide connections, it is not out of the question that items such as these may have been acquired by them independent of their close contact with the Mozarts. However, there is little evidence that such items circulated in Salzburg at the time. Considering that the dates and origin of many of them very nearly match the Mozarts' travels throughout Europe, that the Hagenauer family had close ties to the Mozarts as both friends and bankers, that it is documented that Leopold Mozart repaid debts to them with such items, and that the Hagenauer family bought items from his estate, the simple explanation for the Hagenauers' ownership of these items is that they were at one time owned by the Mozarts and acquired by them on their travels.

Aside from those items, the majority of the objects known to the Austrian Hagenauers are important family documents, artifacts and keepsakes. And, according to family tradition, they included, as noted above (item 7), a 'portrait of Mozart in side profile made from [a] smaller portrait sent by young Mozart to his family when Mozart was 27 and has red coat' (Fig. 1). More specifically, the Hagenauers report that one of their great-aunts, who had seen the portrait hanging in the family home, recalled that it had been painted because Mozart wrote some music for the artist's family. According to her, the painter, originally from Germany, was a significant figure in Vienna who painted for the Court. She added that the painting shows Mozart in his favourite coat. The portrait was brought to Salzburg from Vienna by Mozart's father before coming into the possession of J.L. Hagenauer. There was also a small version, but that was probably sold 'with the other things'.¹⁸

This oral tradition seems to confirm what the



physical appearance of the man in the red coat suggests: that the sitter may well be Mozart.¹⁹ In one detail, the great-aunt's recollections can be supported by testimony in Mozart's correspondence: he did indeed have a favourite red jacket. On 28 September 1782 Mozart wrote to his patroness Baroness Martha Elisabeth von Waldstätten:

As for the beautiful red coat that tickles my fancy so dreadfully, I'd be grateful if you could let me know where I can get it and how much it costs, as I've forgotten – I was so taken by its beauty that I didn't notice the price.²⁰

He wrote to her again on 2 October 1782:

I committed a terrible blunder yesterday! – I kept thinking that I had something more to say -- only I couldn't get it out of my stupid skull! and it was to thank your Grace for having immediately taken so much trouble over the beautiful coat – and for your Grace's goodness in promising me one like it – but it never occurred to me; which is usually the case with me...²¹

To be sure, the mention of a red coat in two letters hardly proves that the sitter in the portrait is Mozart. Not only were red coats not uncommon in Vienna at the time, but on at least three other occasions, both earlier and later, Mozart was depicted in a red coat: in the portrait by Saverio dalla Rosa painted at Verona in 1770; the family portrait of 1780-81 traditionally attributed to Johann Nepomuk della Croce; and in the posthumous Barbara Krafft portrait of 1819 (itself based on models sent to her by Nannerl Mozart).²² Nevertheless, there is no question that Mozart owned a red coat, as it is recorded in his estate documents.²³

Experts have suggested a number of painters who

might have executed the portrait, including Johann Heinrich Tischbein the Elder (1722-89) and Johann Baptist Lampi the Elder (1751-1830), who had studied in Salzburg and settled in Vienna in 1783 (he was also, for a while, Mozart's neighbour when the composer rented a flat at 5 Domgasse, the so-called 'Figaro-haus'). The style of the portrait is generally consistent with both artists.²⁴ Martin Braun, on the other hand, was the first to suggest Joseph Hickel, a name that – like the red coat – resonates in the Mozart letters and buttresses the family testimony that the artist was from Germany and had an important practice in Vienna as a court painter.²⁵ On 3 November 1781 Mozart wrote to his father: 'At 11 o'clock at night I was presented with a *Nachtmusik* for 2 clarinets, 2 horns and 2 bassoons – and of my own composition too. – I wrote it for St Theresa's Day – for Frau von Hickel's sister, the sister in law of Herr von Hickel (court painter); it was performed for the first time at [her] house.'²⁶

The work described here is the first version of the *Serenade for Winds*, K375. Frau von Hickel's sister was Therese Wutka or Witka, whose brother-in-law was Joseph Hickel, painter to the imperial court from 1776. In 1768 Hickel was commissioned by Empress Maria Theresia to travel to Italy to paint portraits of the nobility there. One of the most sought-after artists in Vienna, he may have painted more than 3,000 portraits, including members of the Austrian imperial family, nobility and middle classes and – what is especially important for his connection to Mozart – actors at the Hofburg theatre, including Mozart's brother-in-law Joseph Lange.²⁷ Moreover, Hickel, like Mozart, was active in Viennese masonic circles in the 1780s.²⁸ He was admitted to the lodge 'Zur wahren Eintracht', a sister lodge of Mozart's 'Zur Wohltätigkeit', and they probably met, as brothers, on several occasions (Mozart's earliest documented visits to 'Zur wahren Eintracht' were 24 December 1784 and 7 January 1785) in addition to whatever meetings may have taken place through mutual acquaintances, Mozart's friendship with Hickel's sister-in-law, or through intermediaries at court.²⁹

As with the red jacket, the fact that Mozart mentions the Hickels in his letters and that he composed a work for them does not prove that he is the sitter in the portrait. Even given its earliest likely date, 1783 (see below), the picture postdates the composition of the serenade by a considerable time. But this does not necessarily mean that the two events are unrelated, even if the serenade and picture were not some immediate quid-pro-quo, as the Hagenauer family tradition might be taken to suggest. Mozart clearly had long-standing connections with the Hickel family, connections that are not completely documented. So it may be that the picture – if

8 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart by Joseph Lange (1751-1831), c. 1789. Oil on canvas, 34.6 x 29.7 cm. Mozart Museum, Salzburg

¹⁹ Ist Johann Nepomuk della Croce der Maler des grossen Mozartschen Familienbildes?, *Mozart-Jahrbuch*, 1994, pp. 65-78. Concerning the Krafft, see Nannerl Mozart's letter of 2 July 1819 to Joseph Sonnleithner in Vienna; Bauer and Deutsch, op. cit. vol. iv, pp. 455-6.

²³ Deutsch, op. cit. [note 10 above], p. 495. According to Otto Biba (personal communication), 'frok' (or 'Frack'), the word Mozart uses to describe his coat, was used as a foreign word in Vienna to describe the latest dresscoat fashion from England and France, not the apparently more traditional jacket depicted in the painting. However, the style of jacket worn by the sitter in the Hagenauer portrait is not a traditional jacket, but corresponds to the dresscoat known as 'Justaucorps', an article of courtly gala wear in vogue during the 1780s and known as a 'Frac à la française'. See Ingrid Loschek, ed., *Reclams Mode- und Kostümlexikon*, Stuttgart, 1987-2005, vol. xxx, p. 284. I am indebted to Dr Andrea Mayerhofer-Llanes of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, who also confirmed for me the style and details of the sitter's jacket.

²⁴ The attribution to Tischbein was endorsed by Mark Winter of Art Experts Inc. in a private 2005 report commissioned by the owners of the portrait. Art Experts were not commissioned to identify the sitter nor did they examine the picture in the original. Their brief was solely to give advice, based on elements of style, as to a possible artist.

²⁵ Braun made this attribution in the summer of 2006. In March 2007, he consulted Dr Hermann Mildnerberger of the Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar, who in a telephone conversation confirmed that 'the style of painting was typical for

9 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart by Doris Stock (1760-1832), 1789. Silverpoint on ivory, 7 x 4 cm. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg



the Hagenauer testimony is broadly correct – represents a friendly ‘artistic exchange’ between two families.³⁰

If there is an inconsistency in the evidence, it concerns how the picture made its way to Salzburg – and this in turn suggests a range, albeit a circumscribed range, of dates for the portrait’s execution. According to the Hagenauers, Mozart’s father brought it back to Salzburg from Vienna. Since Leopold visited Wolfgang in Vienna only once, from February to April 1785, this implies a date for the picture between late 1782, when Mozart acquired the red coat (assuming the coat in the picture is identical to the one described in his letter), and April 1785, when Leopold left Vienna. However, an alternative family tradition, quoted already, states that the portrait was ‘sent by young Mozart to his family when Mozart was 27’, that is, in 1783 or at the very start of 1784. If that is the case, it may explain an otherwise obscure passage in a letter from Mozart to his father of 3 April 1783: ‘Here is the Munich opera and two copies of my sonatas! – the promised variations will be sent at the next opportunity, for the copyist was able to finish them. Two portraits will follow as well; – I only hope that you will be satisfied with them; both seem to me equally good, and everyone who has seen them is of the same opinion.’³¹

It is tempting to think that the ‘2 portraits’ Mozart intended to send to his father were pictures of himself and his relatively new wife (they had married on 4 August 1782): Leopold had not seen Wolfgang since the winter of 1781 and had never met Constanze. If so, the newly discovered portrait could be half of a pair of ‘wedding portraits’. The well-known portrait of Constanze in the Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow (Fig. 10), painted by her brother-in-law Joseph Lange, is generally assumed to date from about 1782.³² An accompanying portrait of her husband would presumably have been about the same size and by the same artist. ‘Mozart’ in a red coat, however, is nearly one third as big again as the Glasgow portrait, and he is shown in profile, whereas she is not.

It is not out of the question, of course, that one or other of these portraits was originally a different size, as copies were frequently made of original portraits, in different sizes and different media. Coincidentally, in a letter to the Leipzig publisher Breitkopf & Härtel written on 4 January 1804, Nannerl mentioned a 1783 portrait of her brother in profile: ‘In 1783 he sent me his portrait from Vienna, very small, in pastel, I would have had a copy made but because it is in profile, this painter would not be able to do it *en face* and to guarantee that it would be a perfect likeness. If you like, however, I will speak with other painters, whether they might do such a thing, and approximately how much it would cost.’³³ It is possible that the pastel described by Nannerl is related in some way to the newly discovered painting. Given the testimony of

10 Constanze Mozart by Joseph Lange (1751–1831). Oil on canvas, 32.3 x 24.8 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow

Vienna of the 1780s’ (emails of 7 and 8 May 2008).

²⁶ Bauer and Deutsch, op. cit., vol. iii, p. 171.

²⁷ Concerning Hickel, see *The New Grove Dictionary of Art Online*. Hickel’s brother, Anton (1745–1798) was also an artist. See J. Neuwirth, *Zur Geschichte der Kammermaler Josef und Anton Hickel aus Böhmisch-Leipa*, Vienna, 1927; Edith Thomasberger, ‘Joseph und Anton Hickel. Zwei josephinische Hofmaler’ in *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* vols. XXXVI–XXXVII (1992–3), pp. 5–133; Otto Erich Deutsch, ‘Die Ehrengalerie des alten Burgtheaters’, *Studien aus Wien. Neue Folge*, Wiener Schriften vol. 27, 1969 and Gerhard Leistner, *Joseph Hickel. Bildnis einer Wiener Sängerin 1792*, Regensburg, n.d. For reproductions of Joseph Hickel’s portraits of Viennese actors and playwrights, see György Sebestyén, *Burgtheater-Galerie*, Vienna, 1976, pp. 25–28, 32–36 and 39; for other portraits, see Leistner, op. cit.

²⁸ Hans-Josef Irmen and Heinz Schuler, *Die Wiener Freimaurelogen 1786–1793. Die Protokolle der Loge “Zur Wahrheit” (1785–1787) und die Mitglieder-Verzeichnisse der übrigen Wiener Logen (1786–1793)*, Zülrich, 1998, pp. 114–115 and 120–121.

²⁹ For the dates of Mozart’s visits to the lodges, see Joseph Heinz Eibl, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Chronik eines Lebens*, Kassel, 1977, p. 84.

³⁰ Such exchanges were becoming increasingly common among artists, part of a ‘cult of friendship that characterized German Romantic culture’: Margaret Doyle, ‘Portraiture: Germany’ in Christopher John Murray, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era 1760–1840*, London, 2003, vol. ii, p. 894.

³¹ Bauer and Deutsch, op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 262–3. The Munich opera is *Idomeneo*; neither the sonatas nor the variations can be identified with certainty.

³² Deutsch, op. cit. [note 2 above], pp. 165 and 335.

³³ Bauer and Deutsch, op. cit. [note 4 above], vol. iv, p. 437.

³⁴ Geneviève Geffray, *Das letzte Portrait Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts. Die Silberstiftzeichnung von Doris Stock*, Salzburg, 2006.

³⁵ Daniel N. Leeson, *The Mozart Cache. The Discovery and Examination of a Previously Unknown Collection of Mozartiana*, Bloomington, IN, 2008, argues for the authenticity of the portrait chiefly on the basis of bio-metrics, rather than sources; he was unaware of the oral testimony of the Hagenauers as well as some important documents that bear on the biographical narrative he constructs to account for the history and authenticity of the collection. Leeson was the first to publicise some items from the collection (*San Jose Mercury News*, 22 January 2006) and the first to make a connection between some of the items described here and the Hagenauers.



the family letters, it is certain that at least one, if not two, portraits of Mozart were executed in 1783.

There is no reason to suppose that the absence of an unequivocal reference to the portrait in the composer’s correspondence is telling in any way. Not all of the gifts he received are recorded there and, in any case, not all his letters, or those of his father, survive. A silverpoint drawing of Mozart by Doris Stock (Fig. 9), recently purchased by the Mozarteum, has been accepted as an authentic portrait from life although there is no contemporaneous evidence that Mozart met Stock’s family, let alone sat for a portrait.³⁴

Understandably, much of the media attention surrounding the portrait of the man in a red coat has concentrated on whether or not he looks like Mozart. Yet in the absence of any scholarly work on Mozart portraiture, it is impossible even to say what he may have looked like, let alone what the point of comparison with this portrait ought to be. What is needed, then, are studies of Mozart portraiture comparable to studies of his autograph scores.³⁵

In the case of this portrait, the intersection of independent streams of evidence is compelling. The portrait’s provenance in a collection with strong ties to the Mozarts, forensic evidence that dates it and other artifacts to times and places consistent with Mozart’s biography, the Hagenauer traditions and archives, the evidence of Mozart’s letters and other documents, and the known relations between the Mozarts and the Hagenauers and between Mozart and 1780s Viennese society, combine to suggest that the painting may well be an authentic, unknown portrait of Mozart from his early years in Vienna. **Cliff Eisen is professor of Music History at King’s College London.**